

THE TOILER

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NO. 119.

Published
at Cleveland, Ohio.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 14th, 1920.

Address all mail to
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\$1.50 A YEAR

Communist Labor Party is Legal, Says Secretary Wilson

Rules cannot deport aliens who hold membership

"The belief in, teaching and advocacy of the class struggle, mass action, the conquest of political power, dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, communism, union, shop committees, shop stewards and other industrial, economic and political changes mentioned in the Communist Labor party platform and program, however reprehensible these things may be to the minds of any or all our people, do not bring the organization within the purview of the act, as long as it does not propose to use force or violence to accomplish the purpose."

With these words Secretary of Labor Wilson, on May 5th ruled that the Communist Labor Party is a legal political party and that membership in it of aliens does not constitute sufficient grounds for deportation.

In ordering cancellation of a warrant under which Carl Miller, a German, was held because of such membership, the secretary declared that, while extracts from the organization's platform indicated an extremely radical objective there was no evidence of intention to use force or violence toward organized government.

Hundreds of members of the Communist Labor Party have been indicted and charged with violations of various states' criminal syndicalism laws on the score of carrying on party activities. Since the raids of early January, when these slenchs of the Department of Justice swooped down in a nation wide raid netting thousands of Communists and Communist Laborites, the exact status of the Communist Labor party was in doubt. A previous ruling by the Secretary of Labor practically outlawed the Communist Labor Party which, with the Communist Labor Party developed out of a split in the ranks of the Socialist Party at Chicago last September. A number of members of the Communist Party have been deported merely on the grounds of their membership, while many more are held under indictments on like charges.

Department of Justice disapproves of Secretary's ruling.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice and the Secretary of Labor have long been at odds regarding the status of the "reds" of various hues. Attorney General Palmer has acted upon the assumption that even the

pinkish red who dared to mention the "third international", "mass action" and like revolutionary phrases, was fit only for prison or deportation and has conducted systematic raids upon homes, halls and meetings of workers. The trials of alleged Communists at Boston recently brought out some astonishing confessions from agents of the Department which showed that they sought to bring about the causes which led to the arrests of the revolutionists. The prediction that Palmer had overreached himself in his wild ravings against the radicals seems to be a now well established fact.

The department of justice frankly deplored the labor secretary's decision, Assistant Attorney General Garvan, in charge of raids on radical elements, asserting that because of it all undesirable aliens could enter the folds of the Communist Labor party and be free from government interference.

Although Mr. Wilson declared examination of their platforms showed "some very substantial differences" between the Communist and the Communist Labor parties, Mr. Garvan asserted that concerning principles they were "absolutely the same," and predicted that members of the Communist party, now outlawed, would affiliate with the Communist Labor party to evade deportation proceedings.

"The tactics of the Communist party in Russia," Mr. Wilson said, "can have no bearing upon the Communist Labor party in the United States except in so far as those tactics are accepted or adopted by the Communist Labor party; nor can the statements made by prominent members of the party be accepted as the expressions of the organization unless the party by its own action, adopts the statements."

Battle on for Endorsement of 3-rd International

By Evelyn Sharp
London Correspondent

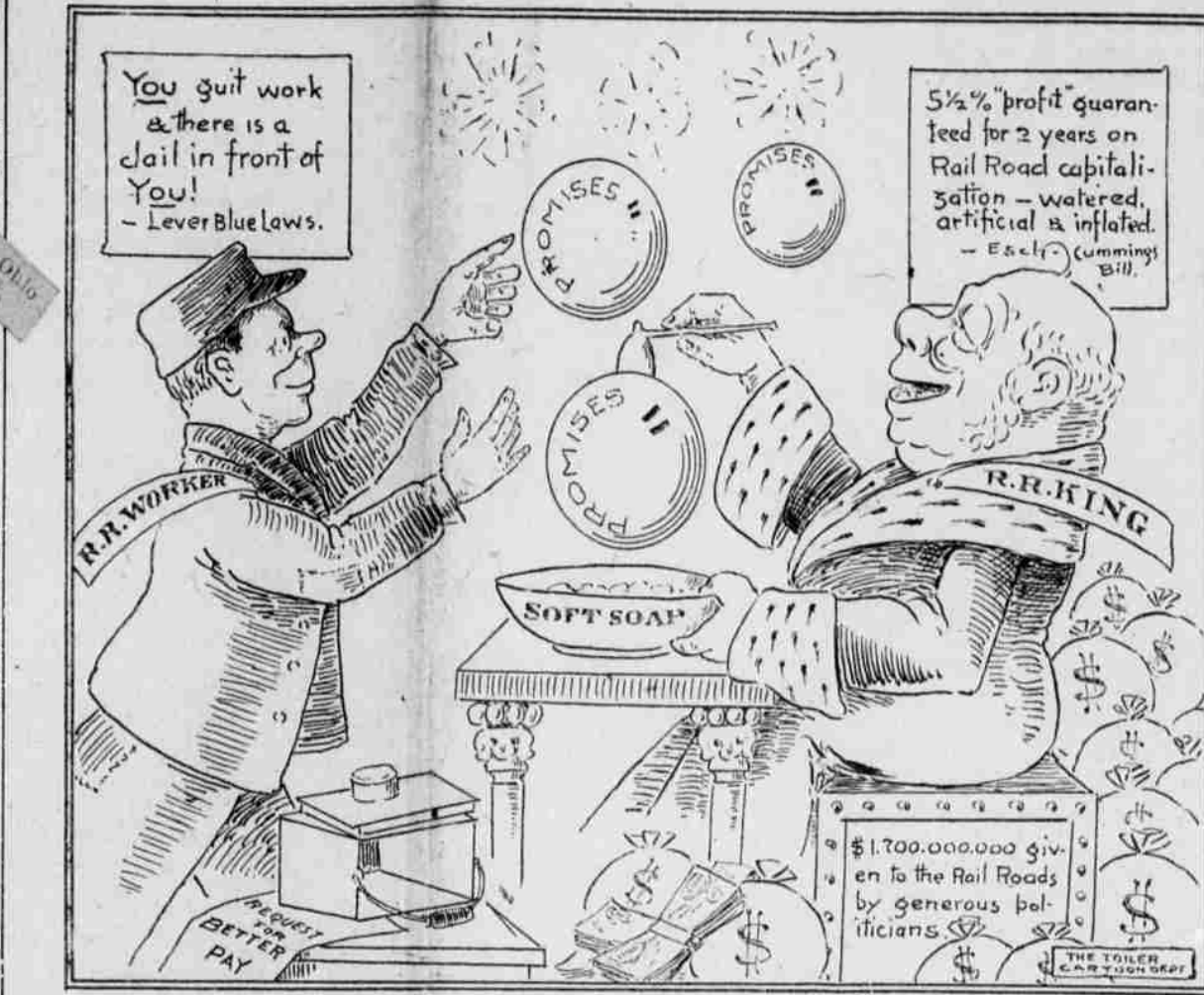
THE FEDERATED PRESS
LONDON.—The battle of the International is still raging in the British movement. The Independent Labor Party at its Eastern Conference, decided definitely to leave the Second International, and equally definitely not join the Third. Instead the I. L. P. is urging the Swiss Party to call as soon as possible a conference to discuss the reconstitution of the International "with a definitely Socialist objective." Also it decided to get into touch with Moscow.

Since the conference the debate has been shifted to the Labor Press—particularly to the columns of the Daily Herald. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, has come forward to defend the Second International and

to attack the Third. The Second, he maintains, is still alive; it has done valuable work; it is "convened on no narrow doctrinaire basis but in consonance with the principle of working class solidarity." The Third on the other hand is doctrinaire and exclusive and insists on tactics which can only lead, as in Hungary, to a dictatorship of reaction. With Henderson is J. Ramsay MacDonald.

To Henderson, Clifford Allen, the leader of the younger members of the I. L. P. replies in an open letter in the Daily Herald that the Second International has failed because it held pre-war ideas, that the big fact, which Henderson cannot ignore, is that Russia, Italy, France, United States, the German Independents and a number of smaller countries have all left it. "Without these parties it cannot be revived," he says.

"Therefore," he pleads, "we have to create new International machinery." And the first step to that must be to get into touch with Moscow. "I beg you," he writes, "you and



He'll blow 'em as long as You'll Chase 'em John. Try Direct Action!

CHRISTIANA—That trade relations between Norway and Russia are soon to be resumed is indicated by the report of Mr. Holvold, president of the Kirkenals Cooperative Society, who has just visited Northern Russian and the Murmansk district. He has reported that complete order exists in these parts and that therefore "external conditions constitute no barrier to the

resumption of trade relations between the two countries and that it is to the greatest interest for both parties that they should be resumed." He pointed out that Russia would provide a market for the fisheries of Norway.

LONDON—Gardeners and estate labourers on King George's Scottish estate at Balmoral Castle have demanded wages of \$15 a week and an eight hour day. Captain Ramsay, the King's Commissioner, replied by telegram: "Give men option of working ten hours or one week's notice."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUSK COMMITTEE
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NORTH CHURCH FORUM MEETINGS, CLEVELAND.

Rabbi Louis Wolfey of the Euclid Avenue Temple will address the open forum meeting May 16th at the North Church Forum, East 72nd and St. Clair. His subject will be AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Lecture will begin at 7:30. The May 23rd meeting at this Forum will be addressed by Mr. Comerford of Chicago. His subject will be THE WORK OF THE LOYAL AMERICAN LEAGUE. If you have anything either good or bad to say about the work of this organization you are invited to say it at this time. Questions and discussions invited.

THE RED RUBY
Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovannitti. 10c a copy.
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THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

— By Ralph Chaplin —

Every worker should read the conspiracy of the lumber interests of the North West to destroy the I. W. W. and how that conspiracy resulted in the tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day.

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Labor's Share of Products Less Than Before War

— By Paul Hann, —

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON—Railroad labor has taken the offensive in the hearings at Washington and denied flatly that wage increase granted since 1917 are in any degree responsible for high prices.

Speaking in the name of seventeen different unions of railroad workers, W. Jett Lauck opens the issue with the following flat-footed statement:

"A careful analysis of the data bearing on the causes of high prices and the relation of cost of production to prices leads to the following specific conclusions:

"1. Profitteering—by which is meant the exaction of profits greatly in excess of pre-war profits on the part of producers, middlemen and retailers—is a fundamental cause of the high prices of practically all commodities.

"2. Increased wages to labor are in no way responsible for increased prices."

Lauck is an economist of many years' training. He served as Secretary for the National War Labor Board, under former President Taft, Frank P. Walsh and Basil M. Manly. His charge that "wage advances have been an effect of price advances, not a cause, is supported by an array of facts which employers strive to ignore but cannot refute.

Following up his written indictment of the profiteer as the most conspicuous cause of modern society, Lauck took the witness stand last week for cross-examination by railroad attorneys and members of the wage board.

"As a result of the war," says this expert, "labor as a class is now worse off than it was before the war. Almost without exception, a day's wages buys less than it did in 1912 to 1914. In other words, in the distribution of the income of the country labor is receiving a smaller proportion than it did before the war, while the capital—in the form of profits, interest and rent—is receiving a very much larger proportion."

Taking the profits listed by such authorities as Moody's and Poor's, Lauck cites the net income on capital earned during the comparative years 1912 to 1918 by a typical group of metal, clothing, food, fuel, light, housing and miscellaneous corporations, and then makes the following comment:

"The outstanding fact is simply stated. The corporations listed earned during the years 1916-1918 an average income of nearly \$1,250,000,000 a year, or nearly 24 per cent of their capital stock. This appears to be nearly three times the average for the pre-war years 1912-1914, and the figures for production show conclusively that these increased profits were not due to increased production. In a large measure they were due to the fact that the corporations took a larger proportion of every dollar spent by the consumer."

The corporations cite in Lauck's list earned about one-sixth of the total corporate income of the United States, and that fact supports his contention that if the other corporations did as well then the combined corporations of the land scooped up about \$4,800,000 more per year during the war than they previously earned per year.

(Continued on page 2.)

Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism and Workers' Committees

(ISSUED BY THE BUREAU OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.)

1.—Unions are necessary organizations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the unions are means for resisting and often improving the most inhuman conditions of labor. Nor are the unions transitory in character, since they can particularly as industrial unions become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2.—The Trades Unions persisting in the defensive struggle against Capitalism do not materially improve conditions. The rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices, while the policy of compromise, wage agreements and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3.—The Trades Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and petty bourgeois ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trades Unions acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation.

4.—Trades Unionism represented (and still represents) the upper layers of the working class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organized in Trades Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labor."

5.—The development of Imperialism merges the Trades Unions definitely in Capitalism, the upper layers of the working class being bribed with a share in the profits of imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment, and labor legislation. The "aristocracy of labor" dominant in Trades Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilizing" labor in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of social imperialism. The decisive factor in the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trades Unionism, with its practice of social-Imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6.—Trades Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labor) is impotent to improve materially conditions of labor or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into crafts or trade organizations "plugs them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely appropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trades Unionism in form and spirit is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7.—Trades Unionism comes to realize its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Laborism (as typically expressed in the British Labor Party) is as impotent as Trades Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests; since Laborism necessarily accepts the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution—that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8.—The governmental form of expression of Laborism is State Capitalism, the merger in the state of the capitalists, the small bourgeoisie and the upper layers of the working class dominant in the Trades Unions; the state is used to regulate equally industry and labor for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9.—The tendency is for Laborism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trades Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting social Imperialism, since their activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and under the ascendancy of monopoly and finance capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10.—Laborism becomes the final bulwark of defense of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a Laborism is imperative. But while politically Laborism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy, its animating impulse and force

is in Trades Unionism. The struggle against this form of unionism accordingly is an inseparable phase of the struggle against Laborism, proceeding—

(a) In general by the Communist parties agitating to drive the unions to more revolutionary action.

(b) Encouraging every movement in the unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organizations such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils, and direct branches of the Communist parties in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the Soviets

(d) By endeavoring to transform the Trades Unions into industrial unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic integrities of modern capitalism, and in spirit animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11.—The agitation for and construction of industrial unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilize the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of labor." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganized, unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organized in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the night.

12.—Unionism trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist parties to develop the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois state.

13.—The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be

organized in industrial unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working classes, being the impulse of Laborism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of parliamentary Socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

14.—The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the Soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15.—After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organized producers.